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Teachable facts about bolshevism and sovietism

New York

1919

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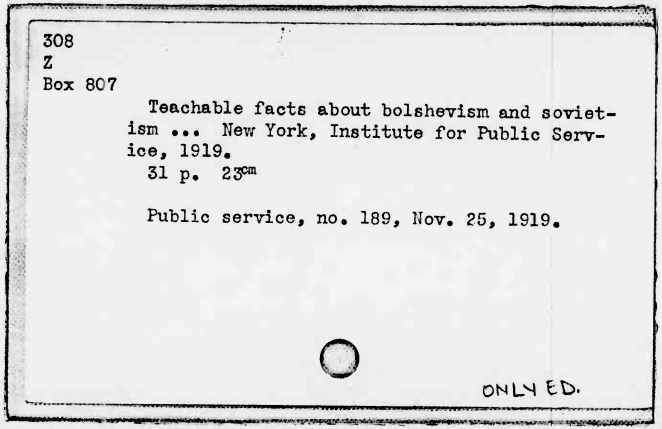

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TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35mm REDUCTION RATIO: 10:1 IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB

DATE FILMED: 9-22-97 INITIALS: AP

TRACKING # : 27875

FILMED BY PRESERVATION RESOURCES, BETHLEHEM, PA.

507

PUBLIC SERVICE

To circulate facts, questions and suggestions of nation-wide importance about public service by governments, civic agencies, higher education and benevolent foundations

No. 189 Issued weekly from City Hall Square—51 Chambers St., New York, N. Y. Nov. 25 1919
INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC SERVICE—William H. Allen, Director

Entered as second-class matter March 27, 1916, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879

Educational Review of Reviews No. 115 Subscription 50c—3 for $1

Teachable Facts about Bolshevism and Sovietism

Safety for our democracy requires straight thinking about bolshevism and sovietism.

Straight thinking seldom if ever goes with untruth, half-truths or no-truth.

No facts or principles which American schools can teach this year have more value to American patriotism than incontrovertible facts about bolshevism and sovietism.

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How many of these bulletins would you like for teachers, classes, co-workers and others who want to think straight about bolshevism and sovietism? Special rates for large quantities.

43899

Two Purposes

In summarizing these facts about bolshevism we have had in mind the nation-wide need for (1) square facing of the fact that **a world competition has begun between two different types of government,** —the soviet form of political and industrial government and our own form of representative democracy, and (2) preparation of teachers and pupils everywhere to think straight about proposals for **"greater participation of labor in the products of its toil."**

Five Reminders

Bolshevism's birthplace, Russia, is almost three fourths illiterate and is unused to self-government, freedom of speech, or general opportunity for individual advancement.

Bolshevism and sovietism are not one and the same thing, although they have gone together in Russia. Each may exist without the other.

Bolshevism has come to mean revolution by "direct action," i. e., **control of government by violence in the name of "Workers,"** a meaning which its own defenders accept and justify.

Sovietism means industrial and political management by councils, and delegates from councils, of occupational groups,—**occupational representation** instead of our **geographical representation.**

Bolshevism in this bulletin refers chiefly to the sovietism, "direct action"ism and other isms actually taught and practiced by the bolshevist political party of European Russia which admits it is backed by but a small minority of the Russian people.

43899 Dec. 24, 1917 R

Bolshevism's Background in Russia

Bolshevism and sovietism are not mere theories, nor are they mere forms of government. They are ideas and forms of government that have been harvested in Russia from a soil of ignorance, slavish subjection to autocracy, inexperience with self-government and acute wholesale suffering, starvation and hopelessness.

To understand the soul of bolshevism and sovietism, we Americans must understand their home atmosphere and background.

Teachable facts about bolshevism and sovietism must be shown against the teachable background of the Russian revolution of mid-winter 1917 whose governmental machinery the bolshevism political faction captured November 7, 1917.

Readers wishing a list of helpful books and articles on Russia in distress may obtain such aids by addressing the Institute for Public Service, 51 Chambers Street, New York City. If only one book can be purchased write to us for **The Russian Pendulum** (Macmillan), 256 pp., $2.08.

When reading **Teachable Facts about Bolshevism and Sovietism** please remember that we are speaking of mid-revolution steps toward self-government by a country of one hundred and sixty million people with the following background for believing, working and hoping:

1. Vast territories differing in resources, habits and wishes were tied together by inequitable laws, unjust rulers and a ruthless military system.

2. Seven out of ten could not read or write and many "literates" could not read easily enough to want to read. Goverment by informed public opinion was impossible, no matter what the paper form of government.

3. Many of the small educated class outdid autocracy's rulers themselves in hating democratic aspirations. (Bullard).

4. "The mass of the workers, made dumb by their ignorance, were bewildered and submissive." (Bullard). Serfdom had been abolished (1861) less than two years before Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. "Slave mentality" still survived.

5. The peasants had no more land than before the revolution of 1905. Famine was almost a constant feature of Russian rural life. Millions starved even in years of good crops. In twenty provinces in 1911-1912, twenty million peasants were without enough bread and eight million were receiving government rations. (Olgin, **The Soul of the Russian Revolution.)**

6. Peasant conditions were growing from worse to unendurable: while peasant population increased 60%, peasant land increased only 20.5% and cattle owned by peasants but 9.5%; when buying land they were charged over twice its real value; they went without equipment for fear it would be taken for taxes; they had no personal freedom; they lacked schooling; laws failed to protect the poor against exploitation by the rich; the police were reckless and brutal; farmers were ignorant as to modern methods of farming; artificial fertilizer being unknown, the soil was becoming progressively poorer. (Olgin).

7. Industrial workingmen were not allowed to organize for the defense of their economic interest; strikes were criminal in the eyes of the law. (Olgin). Besides workers were too ignorant to know how to organize well. (Bullard).

8. Living conditions of workers on farms were "the most atrocious in the world" (Bullard), and of factory workers "hardly deserved the name of habitations." (Olgin). "The worst slums I have seen in America," writes Mr. Bullard to us, "would look like palaces to nine out of ten Russians."

9. The working day in factories was from 12 to 14 hours. A miners' song began, (Olgin):

> "Damned be the life of miners!
> Day and night we toil and suffer,
> Just as criminals in prison.
> Day and night the candle smolders
> And we carry death on shoulders."

10. Educated people who discussed social remedies were persecuted. (Olgin).

11. Without evidence judges sentenced people to heavy punishments, to exile, to life imprisonment. Judges who refused to do injustice upon orders from executives of political leaders were removed; lawyers who defended the wrongly accused were treated as scoundrels, uplifters and plotters. "Justice was the enemy of triumphant autocracy; justice could only help the defeated people; therefore, justice was suspended." (Olgin).

12. Freedom of the press was denied. Arbitrary confiscation of newspapers was widespread. Similarly authors of books and leaflets were imprisoned. (Olgin).

13. Societies and meetings were put under police supervision which amounted to suppression. In 1916 all functions, conferences and congresses of whatever kind were forbidden. (Olgin).

14. The more brutal the oppression, the more glory to the oppressor in the eyes of ruling classes. (Olgin).

15. Hopelessness possessed the thought of factory worker, peasant and soldier. Even a soldier could get no redress if mistreated by his officers. The great majority of the Russians saw no reasonable hope of improving their economic condition by democratic methods. Only one kind of central government was known, that of brutal autocracy. Only revolutionary upheaval promised a fair chance. (Bullard).

From such a background sprang Russian bolshevism and sovietism as we know them today. To such conditions, **ripe for dictatorship of some kind**, came the self-styled "dictatorship of the proletariat" whose extent, promises and first results are summarized in **Teachable Facts about Bolshevism and Sovietism.**

I. The Extent of Bolshevism—October, 1919

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1—After-the-war Russia in Europe has had bolshevist government except in the north around Archangel where a few thousand Allies have been helping anti-bolshevist Russians fight bolshevism.

2—Former Russian lands—Finland, Poland, Ukraine—are not bolshevist, except part of Ukraine.

3—Ukraine's first city, Odessa, and sections sixty miles east were until late in August held by Russian bolshevists; Odessa has since been won by anti-bolshevists.

4—The centers of Russian bolshevism are Moscow, its present capital, and Petrograd whose population, since the revolution, has fallen from 2,000,000 to 600,000.

> Although the "proletariat" of industrial workers is but 10% of the population, the bolshevist constitution gives them relatively five times as much voice as the peasants who are 80% of the population.

5—In Asiatic Russia the anti-bolshevists are in control of the government and armies of Siberia which for a short time was under bolshevist control, while Central Asia has all the time been in control of a soviet government.

6—**Hungary had a bolshevist-soviet government** under Bela Kun from the late spring of 1919 until the first week in August; then for two days an anti-bolshevist group of socialists had control until overthrown by a group of "aristocrats" with a member of the old Hapsburg monarchy as leader. This control was disapproved by the Peace Council; but until November 15 had not been removed.

> After the Roumanians seized Budapest they dug up the bones of 400 victims of the Bela Kun "red terrorists." The aristocracy that followed the bolshevists conducted a similar reign of "white terror." Mr. Hoover says: "It required but three months for the working people of Budapest to realize the fearful abyss into which they had been plunged. It was solely due to the efforts of the trade unions in Budapest that the bolshevists were thrown out of Hungary."

7—Nowhere else in the world is there now a government called bolshevist.

8—Everywhere in the world, practically, there are sympathizers with bolshevism who preach its beliefs and defend its practices, some as often and as loudly as possible, others secretly, or in-

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directly, as by dragging it into conversations about human rights or world peace and the like.

> In our own country the National Socialist Party—now about one third as strong as before the war—at a convention in Chicago, September 4, unqualifiedly endorsed the soviet republic of Russia and the international socialist movement: "We declare our solidarity with the workers of Russia in establishing their Soviet Republic. . . . We condemn the counter revolution in Russia by the Czarists and the Entente nations in an effort to destroy the Soviet Republic."
>
> An important reason why this branch of American socialists is so small is its support of bolshevism and the defection of anti-bolshevist members.

9—**Because bolshevism is not one but many different and often conflicting ideas, and not one but many different and often conflicting practices,** one or more of its symptoms will be found in almost every program for human betterment and in every program for social wrong; **therefore the universal need to understand it.**

10—Some ideas of the bolshevist might under favorable circumstances be carried into effect in any form of government. Even sovietism or occupational representation may be practiced or advocated by strong opponents of bolshevism.

> **For example, the four brotherhoods of railroad workers** in this country want the railroads to be run by directors of whom six out of nine would be elected by railroad employees where under private management all are elected by owners; **the Goodyear Rubber Co.,** at Akron, O., has organized an elected congress of workers to pass on factory matters with an upper and a lower house like our Congress and state legislatures; in many schools there are now **teachers' councils** which in many ways are like the bolshevist "soviets" or workers' committees for industry and government; **President Wilson's message announcing that the Peace Treaty had been signed** said that labor should have a greater share in the management of industry. These four illustrations show how anti-bolshevists may hold ideas more or less akin to sovietism.

11—**Bolshevism cannot be dodged or ignored. We must look it squarely in the face, compare its claims and promises with its performances, take what is helpful, and reject what is harmful.**

II. What National Bolshevism Has Done in Russia

1—It has had control of the government of after-the-war European Russia since November 7, 1917. This government it calls an industrial de-

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mocracy, that is, "government by occupational groups" or "government by producers." Its prime minister Lenine prophesies that "even though the present government of Russia is overthrown by the backwardness of Russia or by foreign forces" the **idea** in the Russian revolution will break and wreck every **political,** social control in the world. **To help that idea wreck every other kind of democracy is a policy of the bolshevist government.**

> "Soldiers, sailors and poorer peasants" and the "industrial proletariat" are the special objects of bolshevism's concern. The soldiers and sailors were indispensable, in fact were stronger than the dictators. The poorer peasants were fertile soil for bolshevist promises; they had nothing to lose. The city wage earners were compact and inflammable.

2—It has maintained highly paid armies in the north about Archangel, in the west toward Finland and around Petrograd, in the south around Odessa, in the southeast against Denikin and in the east against Kolchak. **In October, 1919, it was fighting on 13 fronts.** Its most effective fighting, however, is through propaganda,—tons and tons of newspapers and pamphlets in many languages.

3—It has made laws which **"nationalized,"** or **governmentalized,** or **took from private control the railroads, banks and most important industries and all natural resources like mines, oil wells, forests and waterways.**

4—It has not disturbed the stores and factories of the co-operative consumers associations—chiefly peasants—but has taken over their central bank. Russia's plight, however, has compelled these stores to serve whoever needs goods, non-members as well as members.

5—It has confiscated for alleged public uses—often, however, for only private uses—many forms of non-commercial private property like houses, pianos, silverware, dresses, etc. It has separated church from state, stopped supporting churches but declared religious freedom.

6—It has declared all laboring adults over eighteen, men and women alike, equal before the law in right to vote and to manage, in government and in industry.

7—It has since Nov. 7, 1917, been governed by a dictatorship of two men, Lenine and Trotzky, after first dissolving the revolutionary constitutional convention elected the spring before, but has con-

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tinued the central congress of 1500 representatives from local soviets.

In theory they are elected by an executive committee of 250 members who in turn are elected by the congress of 1500. In theory, i. e., legally, Lenine and Trotzky have no power except what is given to them. Actually they control an enormous army and the other sinews of power so that any members of the executive committee who tried to oust them would be running a dangerous risk.

In law Lenine and Trotzky are not dictators any more than the head of one of our political parties is a dictator. Lenine is the elected chairman of the central executive committee of the soviets (a prime minister like Clemenceau or Lloyd George). Trotzky is the war minister. Lenine has less legal power under the soviet constitution than has the president of the United States under our constitution. Both he and Trotzky are the acknowledged leaders of their party, bolshevist, which is in control of the All-Russian Soviet Government. So long as they remain leaders they command an obedience similar to that which our party leaders command in American politics plus the obedience which recognizes the control of enormous armies and funds of state.

In law these two present dictators can be made private citizens by a vote of 126 to 124 in the central executive committee. In fact they can be removed only by force or voluntary resignation.

8—It has refused to permit the election of a new constitutional convention, although it came to power on that platform, alleging that a full and free expression of the voters' will would be impossible. **It has never given the people a chance to vote approval or disapproval of its actions.**

9—It has suppressed newspapers and magazines which opposed the dictators' government.

Three methods were used: (1) advertising was nationalized and only "well intentioned newspapers" were awarded advertisements and their payments; (2 print paper was nationalized so that only "socially useful" papers could continue; (3) it was made illegal to publish a lie. Russian workers have no way of knowing what bolshevism is doing but what bolshevists tell them, and naturally lay most of their ills to foreign capitalists. (Bullard).

10—It has imprisoned and put to death individual citizens who opposed it or even disagreed with it. It has also permitted opposition and disagreement and has employed many skilled managers who openly disagree with the government's theories and practices.

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11—**It has almost destroyed the value of its paper money** by printing and circulating billions of rubles which instead of standing for ability and intent to pay in work or goods actually mean intent to avoid paying. October 4, 1919, a ruble formerly worth 51c is worth only 10c in bolshevist Russia when not considered worthless. July 27 farm laborers were being paid at Kharkov 150-250 rubles a day.

12—**It has driven gold and other valuables into hiding,** for people would not exchange gold for scraps of paper worth little more than "stage money."

Trying to force people to use worthless paper money is not an invention of bolshevism or sovietism. The French revolution had its "assignats"; our own revolution had its "Continental money" when "a pair of shoes cost $500"; our Confederate states had their "barnful of money for a barnful of tobacco." Non-bolshevist states today also have worthless money; anti-bolshevist Russia must today give 75 rubles instead of 2 for our dollar; the Austrian crown is worth less than 2c instead of 25c; the German mark 4c instead of 24c; the Italian lire less than 2c instead of 20c; the British pound $4.16 instead of $4.86. The difference between depreciation elsewhere and depreciation in bolshevist Russia **is that everywhere else statesmen have tried to prevent it whereas bolshevist statesmen rejoice and say that it has helped ruin capitalists and bourgeoisie and given the economic revolution a better chance.**

13—**It has repudiated,** i. e., said it would never pay, **the national debts** made by Russian governments before it, not excepting the revolutionary government under Kerensky.

It told emissaries of President Wilson who went to Russia on an informal mission that it would repay all of Russia's debts to the Allies if the Allies would raise the trade blockade against bolshevist Russia. The Allies refused. The repudiation stands.

14—**It has scared the growers of wheat** so that they are unwilling to exchange it for almost worthless paper money or other promises to pay; **therefore millions go hungry altho near wheat surpluses, and farmers go without new clothing and machinery altho possessing grain to pay for them.**

15—**It has reduced the production of food grains,** for farmers will not trouble to grow more than they need if they can not exchange it for other goods which they want like clothing, furniture and machinery.

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16—**It has allowed its railroad and steamboat service to run down until the normal exchange of goods would be impossible even if the money system were trustworthy and no economic blockade existed.** With millions of bushels of grain to spare, it has so demoralized distribution that hundreds of thousands have died from hunger.

> It admits that production has been decreased, but claims that it was disorganized before the revolution, and that the chief cause now is the economic blockade which makes it impossible to obtain machinery and railroad material.
>
> **Cf this claim Herbert Hoover said September 16, 1919:** "The apologists of this debacle are telling us that it is due to the Allied blockade and to various other oppositions, but any one with a rudimentary knowledge of Russia knows that **they did have within their borders ample supplies of food, coal, oil, wool, flax, cotton and metals and the factories with which to work them, in abundance, and that their sole deficiency is human effort."**

17—**It has disrupted manufacturing and trade** by trying to conduct them with unskilled management, or with skilled managers who were prevented from using their skill by interference from committees or soviets of workers possessing the power without possessing the necessary information to decide questions of policy and of fact.

> The one locomotive started since bolshevism seized power is not yet finished. Wooden houses are torn down to get nails which are worth 700 rubles (formerly $350) per pound.

18—**It has increased the spread of disease and lawlessness** by the appointment to high and low offices of men who did not know how to use the central power for the education and protection of widely separated communities. That this would be a probable first result its leaders frankly admitted in pleas for trained specialists and for freedom from corruption.

> Much of its early inefficiency, it claims, is due to a strike by experienced bureau chiefs and department clerks of the old government, who refused to work for the bolshevist party. After they began to shoot robbers on sight there was a marked decrease in crime. Present reports indicate less ordinary crime than ever before. (Bullard).

19—**It has stood morally responsible in the eyes of the world for numerous and widespread crimes, committed in the name of freedom, against persons and property, against democracy and civilization.** As a central government theoretically deriving its

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power solely from local soviets, **it has not attempted to punish perpetrators of crimes which have shocked Russia and the entire world,** but has left it to each locality and soviet of occupational committees to substitute able and honest men for blunderbuses and criminals.

> It has naturally been charged with many crimes and offences which were either never committed at all or were isolated cases like lynchings and race riots in our own country. For example, the widely advertised "nationalization of women between 18 and 45," a proposal that was most revolting to our world, was denied and repudiated, never existed in law, and had no basis in fact, except that in a small town a woman published a plan for the socialization of women and an anarchist group passed a resolution favoring such action by their small city.

Of its economic results, Robert Rosenbluth, formerly assistant director of the Institute for Public Service, wrote to us July 27, 1919, from Kharkov just after it was reclaimed from the bolsheviki:

While they tried to organize the running of various industries, it resulted in more talk than produce.

Thus the irony of the Bolsheviki: setting out to destroy "parasitic capital" and to make labor supreme, they destroyed labor and made of each a speculator, in which the possession, legitimate or not, of anything essential, gave one a "corner" on the market, in which he squeezed the man who had to have it; and so on "ad infinitum."

This resulted in so many grave disturbances that it is impossible to enumerate them. The most acute has been a virtual dead-lock and cessation of interchanges between town and country.

Worst of all, of course, was the feeling of insecurity of life itself. As a refugee who just came from Moscow told me, it made a "city where every one is hungry and nobody smiles."

And the tragedy of bolshevism,—the only successful community the world has known, the family, was broken up, each having to shift for himself alone, regardless of the other.

20—It has made the mistake of **thinking more about rights than about duties; more about the unfairness and duties of some of the well-to-do and successful than about the rights of all of them; more about the power of the bolshevik officers than of the pledges they had made to help their people; more about getting money than about**

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earning it; more about dividing goods than about producing the goods which make freedom possible and worth while.

"The bankruptcy of socialism in theory and in practice" is Mr. Hoover's way of characterizing the bolshevist experiment in Russia and Hungary

21—It has financed pro-bolshevism propaganda in foreign countries like our own, hoping thus to make itself more favorably known especially among workers.

22—It has denied that it has imprisoned or put to death for any other reason than to complete and safeguard its "industrial revolution," **except for admitted mistakes which it says any group of human beings would be bound to make during the early days of a revolutionary government.** In straight thinking we must remember the outrages during the French Revolution and following our own Civil War, and frankly admit that anti-bolshevists are also perpetrating atrocities.

23—It claims that it has dealt a death blow to control of government and of industry by the few who have capital and has put in control of industry and government those who work, namely that it has dethroned and disfranchised Capital and enthroned and enfranchised Labor, particularly the Proletariat or the poorest paid wage earners and peasants.

24—It explains the fact that its two dictators now have more power than the Czar used to have, and that in innumerable places the local committees or soviets have left the poor poorer and the hungry hungrier, by saying that it takes time to substitute labor control for capital control and to get new machinery into smooth working order.

> It claims that these admitted breakdowns would have done negligible harm if it had not been for the economic blockade by the Allies. **See Mr. Hoover's denial of this claim—pp. 6, 21—**based upon experience, operation, and other sources of information open to him as "economic director" of Central Europe, as to no one else in the world.

25—It claims many reforms like the establishment of 7,000 schools, 3,000 high schools, and over 20 free colleges and technical schools, besides libraries, workmen's theatres, meeting halls, etc.

> In our country we have 290,000 schools, 13,000 high schools, 600 colleges, 500 technical schools, 20,000 public libraries. Its technical schools, it admits, were not a "particular success" because "men of brains

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> would not teach in the schools and . . . it was not possible to train men in a hurry."

26—It has nationalized crown lands. It has promised to nationalize all land and to give to "each family as much as it could work." But it was not allowed to keep that promise. Why? "The desire to own the land he tills is instinctive with the peasant."

27—**It published secret treaties** made by the Czar's government and the first two Revolutionary governments between March and November, 1917.

28—It has made an attempt on the largest scale yet known, to form an "industrial democracy" which gives "participation in management to the toiling masses."

29—**It made the Brest-Litovsk treaty** of March 3, 1918, with Germany and her allies which removed bolshevist Russia, then speaking for all of old Russia and Siberia, from the war; accepted peace terms vastly more severe and humiliating than those later required of Germany by the Allies; and released hundreds of thousands of enemy troops for fighting against us and our allies on the fronts in France and Italy.

> Of this treaty Lenine himself, the main dictator, wrote in July, 1918: "An imperialistic brigand [Germany] knocked us down . . . . He forced us to sign an incredibly oppressive and humiliating peace. . . . [But] We have signed a Tilsit peace. . . . The Peace of Tilsit [1807, forced upon conquered Prussia by Napoleon] was the greatest humiliation of Germany and at the same time a turning point to the greatest national awakening. . . . Russia now moves . . from a Tilsit peace to national awakening and a great war for the fatherland . . . a Socialist fatherland, for Socialism, as a part of the universal army of Socialism."
>
> **It claims that the bolshevist congress would not have ratified this treaty if the Allies had promised to help it against Germany;** that it waited several days hoping for promise of aid from the United States and England. Alone Russia was helpless; during the first revolutionary government millions of soldiers deserted and whole regiments refused to advance when ordered by their commanders. Raymond Robins of Chicago, formerly in charge of the American Red Cross in Russia, asserts that he personally knows this to be a fact.

30—**It scattered the seeds of revolution** in Germany which made it impossible for the military powers to count upon submissive support of the war by the soldier body or by the taxpayers back home.

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Of this propaganda General Ludendorf writes in his book explaining why the Germans lost: "Bolshevism crept up nearer and nearer, willingly taken up and disseminated by the independent social democrats and permitted officially to make itself at home in Berlin. . . . As long as Germany showed herself complacent to bolshevism **[Russia's soviet ambassador] was able to shake the efficiency of the German people in a way that the Entente, in spite of blockade and propaganda, could never have done."**

Bolshevism's own belief in this propaganda was described in a bolshevist newspaper in Moscow April 23, 1918: "The Red Banner has been raised over the Red Embassy at Berlin. It floats there not as the banner of Russia, but **as the banner of the rebellion of the labor of the world."**

31—It has described in words that masses understand (1) the intolerable and inevitable wrongs of autocracy; (2) many gaps between the ideals and the practices of our political democracy; and (3) the ideals of an industrial democracy in which no one but All-of-us shall own productive capital and no one but All-of-us shall hire and fire or fix and pay wages.

At the same time it has declared to Labor that the individual's labor, like the resources of nature, belong to All-of-us. **It has practically conscripted labor and declared that to strike is counter-revolutionary and therefore disloyal to the soviet state.** This fact is too little known in America, even among radicals who are preaching "direct action" and the advantages of sovietism.

32—**It has itself admitted that there is a wide gap between wanting and doing,** that the bolshevist ideals can remain ideals only if they work, and that their working depends upon finding competent managers.

33—**It has recognized that competent managers could not be found for the same rewards that day laborers and factory workers were given** and therefore, as Lenine wrote, it was "forced to make use of the old bourgeois method and agree to a very high remuneration for the services of the biggest of the bourgeois specialists."

34—It has increased in all lands a many sided demand that has long existed—here weak, there strong—for an "industrial revolution" **which can be dealt with safely only if met with frankness and understanding and wholesale education in labor civics.**

III. How Our Allies and We Have Treated Bolshevism

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1—Although our government recognized the first revolutionary government of Russia, neither we nor any of our allies have recognized Russia's bolshevist or "soviet" government as it calls itself.

2—**The Peace Conference refused to recognize bolshevism** although at one time a delegation was proposed to meet representatives of Russian bolshevism for "informal talks." This meeting, however, never took place because the anti-bolshevist groups in Russia and Siberia refused to sit in any conference with bolshevist representatives.

3—**The Hungarian bolshevist government was never recognized by ourselves or our Allies.**

4—**Commerce with all ports of Russia was stopped November 7, 1917,** when the bolshevists took over the government.

5—In spite of all efforts by Russians, and by many Englishmen and Americans, to persuade the allied powers at the Peace Conference to permit trading with bolshevist Russia the **prohibition or embargo still persists against all ports under bolshevism.**

In October, 1919, the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference—in which of course our country is represented—invited neutral nations and Germany to join in an economic blockade of bolshevist Russia. The measures are thus enumerated.

1. Refusal of permission to sail to every ship bound for a Russian bolshevist port and the closing of all ports to ships from bolshevist ports.
2. Similar regulations to be adopted with regard to all goods destined for Russia by any other route.
3. Passports to be refused to all persons to or from bolshevist Russia. Isolated exceptions may be made by agreement of the allied and associated powers.
4. Measures to be taken to hinder the banks from granting credit to commercial undertakings in bolshevist Russia.
5. Every government to refuse its nationals any facilities of intercourse with bolshevist Russia, whether by post or wireless telegraphy.

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The preamble to the written invitation declared (1) that the open enmity of the bolsheviki is directed against all Governments; (2) that programs of international evolution, circulated by them, constitute a grave danger to the national security of all the powers; (3) that every increase in the capacity of the bolsheviki for resistance increases this danger; and (4) it would therefore be desirable that all nations wishing peace and the re-establishment of social order should unite together to resist bolshevist government.

6—In addition to refusing to permit trade with bolshevist Russia, **the Allies have furnished troops to fight with anti-bolshevist Russian armies against bolshevist (Red) armies** in the north around Archangel and at one time in the south near Odessa; they also furnished armies and supplies to the "Omsk government" speaking for anti-bolshevist Russia and Siberia.

7—**Yet none of the allied governments has declared war against bolshevist Russia** or formerly recognized the civil governments of anti-bolshevists.

8—The reason given for not recognizing the bolshevist government is, as bolshevists themselves admit and justify, that it does not yet represent the people of Russia but a small minority which is no less autocratic than the czar's government simply because it claims to speak for workers.

9—The reasons given for fighting against the bolshevist government without declaring war against it were: (1) **our forces were sent into Russia and Siberia when such action was needed to keep Germany from using Russia, after her submission to Germany in the Brest-Litovsk peace, to injure the Allies by gaining supplies that had been sent for Russian armies when they were fighting against Germany;** (2) then, too, the Allies promised help to the Czecho-Slovaks—former Austrian prisoners held in Russia—who started to make their way across Siberia to join our armies in France.

"A legacy of the German war pure and simple and part of the war expenses" is what Great Britain's war minister called the part of the British and Allied armies in Russia and the $227,000,000 which Britain alone had spent in aiding anti-bolshevists. "They raised armies at our instigation, and largely, no doubt, at our expense. That was an absolutely

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sound military policy. . . . If we, as soon as they had served our purpose and as soon as they had taken all the risks, had said, 'Thank you, we are exceedingly obliged to you. You have served our purpose. We need you no longer. Now let the bolshevists cut your throats,' we should have been . . . thoroughly unworthy indeed of any great land."

10—The reason given for not sending more allied troops into Russia and enough to defeat the bolshevist "Red Army" was that **the Allies' belief in "self determination" for all nations gives Russia the right to decide for herself who shall govern her and by what method.**

"Whether Russia is menshevist or bolshevist is a matter for the Russian people themselves," said Lloyd George to the House of Commons, April 16, 1919.

11—The reason given for suppressing trade with the bolshevist government when we were not at war with it, and even after we resumed trade with Germany has never yet been stated by any of the Allies or our own government.

12—The reason for prohibiting trade with non-bolshevist or anti-bolshevist Russia until the summer of 1919 was never officially stated. Why official silence on such an important policy as a "hunger embargo?" Perhaps the reason is that after the relaxation from fighting the allied governments found it hard to formulate a common clear policy.

13—Because the nations which had goods would not trade with Russia, bolshevism has not only shown its own weaknesses at their worst, but has been blamed for other evil results which would happen under almost any government, however unanimously approved at home and abroad, if it were prevented from trading with other nations.

14—A further consequence of the Allies' embargo upon trade with Russia is that this great field of trade and friendship was left exposed to reviving Germany's promises of future help and assurances of sympathy.

15—**Our own country has not been unanimous in its attitude toward our government's prohibition of trade with Russia;** on the contrary within Congress, and among editors, business men and students of international affairs there have been many who thought trade with Russia, including bolshevist Russia, should have been permitted and encouraged all the time.

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Starving non-combatants is more inhumane than air raids and long range guns is urged by many who fear bolshevism less than the embargo. **Five reasons of expediency for lifting the embargo** are given by other persons who believe that the embargo is fostering what it aims to kill:

(1) the lifting of the embargo **would place upon the bolshevists** the responsibility for the difficulties in which the country now is and which they now lay to the Allied embargo and intervention;

(2) the embargo is not only against trading **but against full information with regard to what is happening in Soviet Russia;**

(3) if we had full knowledge of this experiment it would not have the attraction which it now seems to exercise upon radicals;

(4) bolshevism is likely to fail not so much by pressure from the outside as by the fact that its theories are fallacious;

(5) when it comes in contact with the outside world, these theories will have to be amended or entirely cast aside, if the government is to continue to exist.

16—Many Americans have held that either we should fight bolshevism our hardest or else not fight it at all, and that if we were not at war with Russia we should trade freely with her just as we ordinarily do with other nations with whom we are at peace.

17—**The chief reasons why so little has been done and said about trading with Russia and about recognizing or refusing to recognize the bolshevist government,** so far as it controls, are four:

(1) we have given most of our attention to the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations;

(2) we have been told almost nothing by our government itself of the official reports sent to it regarding the actual workings of bolshevism;

(3) we have quite generally believed newspaper statements and testimony before a Senate committee, which claimed that the bolshevist leaders were in the beginning paid by Germany to work in Germany's interest and that they would use our recognition only to extend bolshevist revolutions to all other countries;

(4) because direct postal and telegraph communication has been cut off, it has been almost impossible to get information that would not be soon contradicted.

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18—With the approval of Lloyd George for Great Britain and Clemenceau for France, President Wilson for our peace commission sent three American investigators into bolshevist Russia, but the resulting report was not officially made public. We know only that no one at the Peace Conference seems to have urged recognition of the soviet bolshevist government.

Unofficially one of the President's messengers, W. C. Bullitt, gave to our Senate Foreign Relations Committee, September 12, 1919, what he claimed were the seven principles which the bolshevist government laid down as a basis for the discussion of peace with the Allies:

(1) All de facto governments in Russia to remain in control of the territory they occupied at the time of the armistice "until the peoples inhabiting the territories determine to change their governments."

(2) The economic blockade to be lifted and trade relations with soviet Russia resumed "under terms that will insure that supplies are made available on equal terms to all classes."

(3) Soviet governments to remain in control of ports and railroads.

(4) Citizens of soviet Russia to have full rights of travel, "provided they do not interfere in domestic politics" of the countries visited. Allied nationals were to be extended the same privileges in Russia.

(5) A general amnesty for "all political opponents, offenders and prisoners" held in Russia and for Russians and their sympathizers held prisoners in the Allied countries.

(6) All Allied troops to be withdrawn from Russia. Soviet and anti-soviet governments to begin reducing their armies simultaneously.

(7) All governments set up in Russia "shall recognize their responsibility for the financial obligations of the former Russian Empire to foreign states parties to this agreement and to the nationals of such states." The gold seized by Czecho-Slovaks at Kazan to be regarded as partial payment of these obligations.

19—To the British House of Commons Premier Lloyd George said April 16, 1919, when questioned about the attitude of the peace conference toward Russia, that no report by President Wilson's representatives had been considered by the conference, and further:

"You have got a vast country in a state of complete confusion and anarchy. There is no authority that extends over the whole land. It is just like a volcano which is still in furious eruption, and the best you can do is to provide security for those who are dwelling on the lava that it may not scorch

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other lands. . . . The Bolshevist Government has committed crimes against Allied subjects and has made it impossible to recognize it even as a civilized government. . . . And we certainly disagree fundamentally with all the principles upon which is founded the present Russian experiment, with its horrible consequences, far-reaching bloodshed, confusion, ruin and horror. . . .

"Our policy is what I call 'to arrest the flow of lava', that is, to prevent the eruption of bolshevism into Allied lands. For that reason we are organizing all the forces of the Allied countries bordering on the bolshevist territory, from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

"Reliable information which we have received indicates that whilst the Bolsheviki are apparently growing in strength bolshevism itself is rapidly on the wane. **It is breaking down before the relentless pressure of economic facts.**

"You are dealing with a nation which, after being misgoverned for centuries, has been defeated. . . . largely through corruption, inefficiency and treachery of its governments. Its losses have been colossal. That is the reason why the nation is going through the untold horrors of a fanatic and lunatic experiment."

On June 12, 1919, the Allies wrote that they "would assist the government of Admiral Kolchak and his associates with munitions, supplies, and food to establish themselves as the government of all Russia." Instead of proceeding at once to fulfill our part of this pledge, our government sent Mr. Morris, our ambassador to Japan, to Omsk to investigate and report. He did report three months later that the strength of the anti-bolshevists was nearly exhausted and that they deserved recognition as an independent government.

IV. What Bolshevism Wants and Teaches

1—Bolshevism, the word, means **majority,** from the Russian word **bolshinstvo. Bolsheviks** was first used in 1903 at a congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, to distinguish a majority who wanted editorials in the party paper to be supervised from the minority, the Menshinstvo, or the Menshiviks who voted against supervision. The name stuck to that faction of extreme radicals who on Nov. 7, 1917, got control of Russia.

2—Bolshevism, a word which literally means government by the majority, has now come to mean the kind of government which does some or all of the anti-social things summarized in Part II.

On his western trip in September, 1919, President Wilson repeatedly referred to bolshevism in Russia as minority-ism, as "government by terror, government by force, not government by vote" with the result that "there is a closer monopoly of power in Moscow and Petrograd than there ever was in Berlin."

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3—**Bolshevism** when used outside of Russia is more often **a term of opprobrium,**—a nickname for direct action or violence, disorder, demand for change by revolution—than a term of accurate description.

> Like other nicknames this one tells only a part of the truth, for bolshevists differ from one another as much as socialists differ from one another. But a man is known by the company he keeps and all bolshevists must pay the penalty for the reputation given their name by the deeds of violence done by their best known members and by their rough-shod unconcern for majority wishes.

4—Bolshevism has never had a majority in Russia. Its leaders claim only a small minority. Theirs is avowedly government **for** but **not by** the people thus far.

5—**Sovietism** is a better word to use than bolshevism when discussing the aims and teachings of bolshevist leaders, because, as honest inquirers and thinkers, we are under obligation to judge an idea or proposal by its soundness or unsoundness and not to condemn it for misuses of it by evil-minded or incompetent men, or by persons who call anything they fear or dislike "bolshevist."

6—**Sovietism, or workers' committee-ism, is the new idea in Russian bolshevism which makes it different from majority rule in our own country.** We both agree that the majority should rule. We differ in our way of counting the majority. In our country farmers, miners, clerks, teachers, carpenters and factory workers in one district all vote for or against the same alderman; sovietism has teachers vote for their own alderman, miners for theirs, farmers for theirs, etc., every occupation being entitled to its own committees. In our country differences in business or in ways of earning a living disappear at election time and we urge one another to vote for the whole city's welfare not our own gain; sovietism wants differences in earning a living to show at election time and to be kept in mind when each man votes. Our representation is geographical; sovietism's representation is occupational as well as geographical.

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Sovietism's occupational representation, however, loses its identity after delegates leave a county or city. There is no one in the county or city soviet who has not been elected by his trade or occupational group. In choosing persons to represent a whole province, however, a majority vote is taken at a meeting attended by all delegates from all occupations of both county and city. It is entirely possible that the net result of occupational representation in localities and counties would be the selection of provincial and national congresses made up entirely of lawyers, or bankers, or soldiers.

> Local majorities that have elected anti-bolshevist delegates, as in Yaroslav, have been suppressed as counter-revolutionary. When a re-vote supervised from headquarters was even more anti-bolshevik, headquarters decreed that as Yaroslav had twice shown its unfitness and its inability to recognize its own best interests, **it could not have a soviet at all!** (Bullard.)

7—**Whether the soviet kind of majority rule is better or worse than ours depends upon how each works.** Both kinds will be found in most American communities either in business or in government or in games: in some high schools the central student body chooses officers and committees by majority vote of all members; in others each of four classes is given a certain number of officers for whom only that one class votes. At our primary elections, in some states any voter may vote in either party's primary to choose nominees; in other states no one may vote in a party primary who did not vote that party's ticket at the preceding election.

8—**The second chief earmark of sovietism,** or Russian bolshevism, is its workers' management of all industry and business and its nationalization of wealth like mines, waterpower and oil wells. In our country only a small part of business is owned by all of us and managed by our government. But even here it is a question of degree rather than of principle, and **a question of what plan best works in each place.** There is hardly any kind of government ownership and control which the soviets have introduced into Russia that is not found on a small or large scale somewhere in our land.

1. All of us, that is our national government, still manage the railroads and for nearly a year up to August, 1919, operated the telegraph and telephone wires.

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2. No one in our country but the federal government may carry mail.
3. In our vast "national domain" no one may cut down our great virgin forests, or use our virgin water power, or dig riches from our virgin mines but those who get permits from the government, obey its regulations, and pay its lease prices.
4. In Minnesota great iron mines are owned by the state and leased for a price to private mine operators.
5. Hundreds of our cities have public ownership and operation of water works.
6. Los Angeles brings great rivers from the mountains opposite San Francisco and sells the vast power generated by the fall of this water to manufacturers and street-car operators.
7. Our federal government owns and operates the greatest bank in the world, the Federal Reserve Bank.

There is nothing the Russian soviet has done which we cannot do if we want to, and little that we have not wanted in some place at some time to do on a small scale. **The question is whether we want to do these things, whether our present way is better and pleasanter, and how much, if at all, we want to change tomorrow.**

9—**A third striking earmark of Russian sovietism** is its insistence upon "the universal obligation to work." "He shall not eat who does not work" is sovietism's motto. Even here sovietism is not alone, for several of our states passed compulsory work laws during the war, notably New Jersey and Maryland.

> Even the right to strike is denied. Trotzky has said: "To strike is counter-revolutionary." **Conscription of labor is threatened.** Moreover those who do not do their share when working will have to take less food than full work earns.

The tragedy is that resolving that everybody must work does not provide the work. **Nowhere in the world probably is so large a percentage of the total population without work as in soviet Russia.**

10—There is nothing in bolshevism or sovietism for America to be afraid of **if only we see straight and think straight and stop trying to keep from understanding it.**

11—Sovietism does not trust to ignorance or blind faith for making converts, but instructs its central minister of education (People's Commissariat) to "**introduce in all schools and educational institutions of the Russian republic the study**

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and explanation of the basic principles" of sovietism.

Our negligence in teaching the basic principles of Americanism is appalling and needs official and unofficial attention everywhere in this country.

12—**"Full and general free education** to the workers and to the poorest peasantry" is promised in the soviet's constitution, paragraph 17,—an old but revered story to Americans.

13—**Free meeting places** with free heat and light are offered "to the working class and to the poorest peasantry," paragraph 15. We were first in providing free community centers for which **the U. S. bureau of education has been conducting a nation wide propaganda.**

14—"All technical and material means of publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books, etc.," were turned over "to the working people and the poorest peasantry . . . for the purpose of guaranteeing freedom of expression to the toiling masses." As this has worked out, however, newspapers that did not applaud the current majority were suppressed, which shows only that human nature remains the same no matter how forms of government change.

15—The right to vote is given to all citizens of either sex over eighteen "who have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society;" also to soldiers and sailors. In practice, however, voting is at too many points not free **because not secret, and not safe if against the leaders'** will. The dictators have the army, the bread, the press. Opposition does not pay If it shows its head it is squelched. Of course that cannot last forever.

16—**No one may vote or be voted for** who "hires labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits;" who has income without doing any work; nor may private merchants, trade and commercial brokers, monks and clergy, members of the czar's police and secret service force or his family, etc.

These exceptions show whom bolshevism considers non-producers. Bolshevism teaches that the proletariat produces all and is therefore entitled to all, and that the so-called middle class, or bourgeoisie, and the capitalist class, are unnecessary evils, whose wealth the proletariat is competent to produce and whose enjoyment the proletariat is entitled to share.

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17—Where we have a president and a congress of 96 senators and 431 representatives, they have a congress of 1,500 which when in session has all the power; between sessions it turns over that power to an executive committee of 250 which in turn, in law, exercises its power through a cabinet or commission of 17 executive officers called commissars. **Not one of these officers is elected by an occupational group but by central bodies to which several occupations send delegates.**

Where our representatives are elected for 2 years, our president for 4, our senators for 6, the soviet congress is supposed to be elected every six months.

The Soviet Bureau itself says it does not know how many days in 24 months the central congress has been in session.

18—Each of the 17 cabinet members is theoretically independent of all the others except that he is responsible to the council of 17 cabinet members and to the whole executive committee of congress. There is, however, a special advisory committee named by the whole cabinet for each cabinet member. If the advisory or supervisory committee or one of its members does not like what its cabinet officer does, complaint may be made to the whole cabinet or to the executive committee.

19—The only new thing about this way of governing is that it is being tried on a larger scale than modern nations have ever before tried it. **For over a hundred years we have been outgrowing similar methods, reducing the number of elective and appointive officers, simplifying the machinery of government, learning about public work by reading records of its results instead of trusting people to tell on one another, looking more and more to the training of officers and public in self-government.** "Peculiarly open to gang politics and corruption" is the bolshevist method of separating governors from governed by having delegates to elect delegates to elect an executive committee to elect executives.

20—**Even occupational representation is not entirely new to us.** In principle it is second cousin to our "Irish vote," "Italian vote," "German vote," "veteran vote," "woman's vote," and first **cousin to the common American practice of running a**

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labor candidate in a district where the labor vote controls. Students will also profitably compare the principle of occupational representation with the principle of our growing proportional representation and our waning gerrymander.

21—**After actual tests, Russian sovietism has had to make many changes** for it found that its machinery could not do what it at first expected. For example it found that it could not with untrained laborers run the great factories taken over from private management, so it began hiring specialists; **it could not obtain specialists who knew how** for the same wage paid factory hands who did not know how, therefore it paid very high salaries for the abilities which it was hardest to obtain instead of the equal pay for all which it believes is theoretically correct.

> Another compromise concerned the "consumers cooperatives" which by 1918 had 10,000,000 members and a year later claimed 20,000,000: (1) the agents of these cooperatives not only participated in the soviet discussions about what to do with themselves, but practically dominated the discussions; (2) the soviet gave up its demand that any one might belong to the cooperatives and permitted the old exclusive societies, until hunger made it necessary for cooperatives to sell to any one who wanted their supplies; (3) the bourgeois were continued in control of the cooperatives instead of being excluded as the soviets wished, and now only owners of profit-making enterprises are excluded.

22—That "false steps, experiments, wavering and hesitation with regard to the choice of new methods" would be certain to follow "the appearance on the historical stage of a new class in the role of a leader of society" the bolshevists knew in advance. The above quotations are from Lenine's **The Soviets at Work.**

23—That bungling, waste, bribery, corruption, and misuse of power would surely result from placing all the power of government and industry in the hands of soviets unless they trained leaders and followers and adopted the best modern business methods is also a fundamental belief of sovietism itself.

24—**Sovietism thus admits that the final and only important test of its theories is whether they can**

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be made to work with as satisfactory results to as many people as does the system of Capitalism or private control of industry for private gain.

Describing what he called a radical change in the economic and social ideas of bolshevist leaders, Mr. Hoover's widely published summary read:

> "They have established a state savings bank in order to stimulate production through making provision for family and old age. They are offering fabulous salaries for men capable of directing the large agencies of production. In fact, while in the midst of verbal endeavor to maintain that they are still socialists, they are endeavoring to restore individual ownership of property and of the results of labor. The very high priest of socialism [Lenine] is today vainly endeavoring to save his people from their total destruction by summoning back the forces of production."

25—The whole problem therefore boils down to this, **whether America is going fast enough in the right direction to insure the fullest possible participation of all men and women in industry and government, i. e., in democracy, and whether we can best help ourselves by copying or by avoiding sovietism at one or more points.**

V. Bolshevism in Our Own Country

1—The annual convention of the American Federation of Labor—called A. F. of L.—passed resolutions condemning bolshevism as follows:

> Resolved, that this convention refuse its endorsement of the soviet government of Russia or any other form of government in that country until the peoples of Russia, through a constituent or other form of national assembly, shall have established a truly democratic form of government.

2—New York's governor called a special grand jury to hear a state legislative committee that has been investigating bolshevism bring charges against persons and societies for seditious utterances and traitorous actions in the interest of

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bolshevism and against our own government. After hearings running over many weeks, and examinations that included forceful entry into offices of several "radical" agencies, indictments have been asked and obtained of three Finns for seditious activities.

3—A national convention was held in Chicago, September 18, 1919, called by the Manufacturers' Association of Illinois, to consider ways to prevent the spread of bolshevism.

4—Naturalization judges—a few—have announced that they will not admit persons to American citizenship who hold views in favor of bolshevism or any other form of "direct action," i. e., taking law into their own hands if the present law prohibits what they want.

5—The National Security League from 19 West 44 Street, New York City, is conducting a campaign against bolshevism and for an understanding of our own Constitution. Its literature is free.

6—The National Civic Federation, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City,—representing Labor and Capital,—is waging a warfare of publicity against bolshevism and its spokesmen and near-spokesmen. Its literature is free.

7—Great organs of publicity like the **Saturday Evening Post** characterize Russian sovietism as a scheme "for knocking the brains out of Russia" . . . "killing a nation's ability" . . . "a new tyranny as odious as the old."

8—Ministers and governors, professors and mayors, editors and business men, and organizations of every description have vied with one another in denouncing bolshevism in Russia and alleged bolshevist utterances and tendencies at home.

9—Page advertisements against bolshevism are being published in one newspaper in each of several cities, like No. 23 herewith, which is of course very much reduced. The **danger of such extremes is that they will do more to make converts to bolshevism than could the same money spent by Russian bolshevists themselves.**

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Curse of Bolshevism

Bolshevism is Ignorance.

It is an Evil Spirit of the Dark Ages.

Bolsheviam is the enemy of labor, organization, and systems of productions.

It throttles free speech, and muzzles the press.

There is no mercy in Bolshevism, no kindness, no charity. It laughs at the starving, pleading for bread, and tortures the dying.

It executes its opponents without due process of law or trial by jury.

It is viciously arrayed against government where the will of the people is law.

Bolshevism would permit no individual ownership of land, it would weld the peoples of the world into common masses like the tribes of old

Bolshevism is opposed to religion, which is the foundation of civilization.

Under Bolshevism there could be no incentive to rise or advance, no aspiration to attain distinction, no development in the sciences, no achievements in the arts, no architecture, no literature, no soaring in the air over the trackless ocean, no wireless telegraphy, no tunneling beneath the streams or through the mountains, no advancement in any direction.

Bolshevism would turn the clock back and progress would be halted.

It tears down but never builds.

Ability, the only valid title to wealth and power, would be throttled.

Trace the bloody trail of Bolshevism through Russia Put your ear to the ground and hear the shrieks of the persecuted and the dying

Shall American Labor, which is the most skilled and the highest paid labor in the world, be beaten into slavish submission by the cruel leaders of Bolshevism?

Will American Labor permit Bolshevism a foothold in this country?

Not much. It will crush the curse and trample it under foot until not a vestige of its despicable body shall remain.

10—Loyalty to American ideals and institutions is said by extreme campaigners against bolshevism to require that we all refuse either to admit any good and any decency in bolshevism and sovietism or to seek other information than that containing wholesale condemnation of them.

11—Opposition to radical ideas and radical spokesmen has gone farther than verbal criticism; meetings and parades have been prohibited; the public exhibition of the Red Flag which was adopted by the Russian and Hungarian bolshevists and the German extremists called Sparticides has been forbidden; and men have been put in jail and tried for treason for speaking at meetings and even for being present where radical views à la bolshevism were expressed. To protect America against a "dictatorship of the proletariat" and sovietism many Americans want to stop freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of inquiry.

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12—Naturally when merely asking questions is apt to be called disloyalty, there is great confusion in the minds of the people and very little courage to inquire.

13—**Nowhere is there yet enough continued impartial effort being made to state the truths about bolshevism and sovietism without favor or disfavor.**

14—The Soviet Bureau in New York City is paid by the Russian bolshevist government to conduct pro-bolshevist propaganda in our country. It publishes **Soviet Russia** and answers verbal or written questions.

The exact opposite at almost every point is furnished by the Bureau of Russian Information, Woolworth Building, New York City, and its weekly, **Struggling Russia,** which gladly answers verbal or written questions. In the same building is the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce.

15—**The Liberator,** monthly, New York City, is ardently, but hardly impartially, pro-bolshevist so far as sovietism in Russia is concerned.

16—The Rand School for Social Science (socialist) 135 E. 15, New York City, has printed and sold several pro-bolshevist documents.

17—**The Nation** and **The New Republic,** New York City, have printed many articles and editorials which pictured bolshevist theory and practice as less anarchistic than extreme critics have painted; and these magazines insist that they have been pro-fair-play not pro-bolshevist.

18—Here and there newspapers like the Hearst papers, have demanded more precision and less confusion when discussing bolshevism, e. g., that sovietism be distinguished from bolshevism, that the possibility be recognized of sovietism without bolshevism, of bolshevism without sovietism, and of occupational representation (sovietism) without chaos.

19—Writers with large audiences in many cities like Dr. Frank Crane, have dramatically contrasted the results of our democracy with the first results of sovietism and bolshevism, e. g., **starvation and surplus of wheat side by side because distribution has broken down.**

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20—Educators, in public schools and even in schools of higher education, have hesitated to take up a question regarding which so few facts were available and controversy so certain.

21—One method of dealing with bolshevism and sovietism has not yet been sufficiently tried,—telling and re-telling the truth, curing mis-information with information, facing reiteration of fantastic claims with reiteration of disillusioning facts, substituting education for denunciation. If bolshevism had twenty three million young people in schools and colleges it would be educating Americans and aliens alike, not hysterically shouting about danger, jail and deportation. Shall America be less lightened in her use of education's machinery?

22—The Institute for Public Service, 51 Chambers Street, New York City, has tried to sift rumor from facts; to make teachable facts available. (Send for **Public Service** bulletins.)

It will welcome, and pass on to others, any facts to supplement those in this bulletin either about bolshevism and sovietism in Russia or about efforts in America to repress discussion of them by force, and especially about successes in studying and teaching significant facts regarding them.

INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

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Postscript

Real facts are the only safe basis for sound conclusions.

Real facts are difficult of identification in the present half-gloom surrounding Russia. Blind rumor and selfish misrepresentation pass current and influence judgment at a time when clear vision and sane conviction are imperative.

A world wide contest is on between two theories of industrial and political organization. A painstaking and sincere attempt has been made in **Teachable Facts about Bolshevism and Sovietism** with the help of twenty business men and educators, government officials, and others intimately familiar with conditions in Russia, including soviet sympathizers, to present real facts on which those conflicting theories of government may be judged.

The conclusion seems inescapable that American democracy has achieved in provable performance the greatest advance in human standards and widest dissemination of human happiness; and that its majority government, resting on the sound foundation of the average intelligence and fairness of all its citizens, holds surest promise of equal opportunity that will place its proper premium on individual character, ability and steadfast purpose.

Two thousand years of sturdy human progress condemns the autocracy of single rulers and the tyranny of any minority. History records injustice, suffering, death that follow tyranny of either kind. Russia, dazed, bewildered, ignorant of human experience so recorded, gropes blindly, scores of years behind. Her background of general illiteracy, backwardness, poverty, widespread misery, apparently explains why Russia in revolution against tyranny now presents itself as the laboratory of social experiment under a political tyranny condemned by human experience.

Facts about methods and results of bolshevism and sovietism will guide the world's judgment in extracting whatever proves itself good and condemning whatever proves itself senseless, cruel and reactionary

Real human progress will be made, as always, by the sane judgment of fair men acting with information and not by social or political theories maintained by force.

Wrongs and inequalities are remedied not alone by the hot blood of sympathetic resentment, but by the use of cool judgment and sound method made effective. Read the unbiased record of facts and form your own convictions.

JULIUS H. BARNES, Chairman,
INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

November 15, 1919.

WHITTET & SHEPPERSON, PRINTERS, RICHMOND, VA.

END OF
TITLE